

New Cultures, New Laws: Perceptions of Nigerians in Winnipeg about Canadian Laws and  
Criminal Justice System

By

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba in Partial  
fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of  
Master of Arts

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**MASTER OF ARTS**

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## **Abstract**

This study examines perceptions of a select sample of Nigerians in Winnipeg about Canadian laws and criminal justice system. The study is guided by a theoretical framework drawn from postcolonial theory and legal pluralism. Its methodology combines the qualitative richness of in-depth interviews and quantitative measures engendered by a combination of closed-ended and open-ended survey questions. One fundamental finding of the study is that totalizing, generalizing or homogenizing the experience of “Blacks” and “Blackness” is not only theoretically misleading, but also ontologically barren. The results indicate mixed perceptions about the justice system and a tendency to relate questions on agents of the criminal justice system with issues of employment and previous experiences in other spheres of daily life. Unofficial forms of ordering among subjects are uncovered as well as a strong indication of occupying an “interstitial” or “in-between” space (Bhabha, 1994). The study offers recommendations for policy makers and future research.

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## 1.0

### Chapter 1: Introduction

Nigerians constitute the largest number of “Black”<sup>1</sup> people on earth. The World Bank (2006) estimates that Nigeria has a population of 130 million, while the National Population Commission of Nigeria in its “provisional result” for the 2006 census estimates that there are 140,003,542 million Nigerians.<sup>2</sup> It is a fact that Nigerians are as diverse as they are many. There are at least “252 identifiable ethnic groups” (Elechi, 2006: 3) in Nigeria with superfluous languages and dialectical differences even within the same culture area unmatched anywhere in Africa (Mensah, 2005: 73). The unprecedented diversity is further heightened by the practice of religions such as Christianity, Islam and a plethora of African Traditional Religions.

Nigeria and Nigerians have, from time immemorial, been beset by a seemingly endless avalanche of problems, ranging from political to economic, ethnic to religious and educational problems. It is not an overstatement to assert that very little is not a problem in Nigeria. From simple electricity generation and distribution to clean water, access roads to health facilities, all are either barely functional or virtually non-existent; with the possible exception of some high brow parts of cities like Abuja, Lagos and Port Harcourt. Joseph (1987:184) states that “Nigeria is still a problematic entity even for its highly educated and politically active citizens”. The condition of the less-privileged in

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<sup>1</sup> I shall keep this term in quotation (except while citing others) because “no human being is actually ‘Black’ in colour,” Mensah, 2002:21). This is further explained in the literature review.

<sup>2</sup> Population figures are very contentious in Nigeria because they are used for distribution of resources. Previous head-counts in Nigeria have been sources of political brinkmanship. “Provisional results” of the 2006 census were made public on Dec. 29, 2006 by the National Population Commission (NPC) (See “2006 Census puts population at 140 million.” Available at <http://www.punchng.com/Artcl.aspx?theartic=Art200612307193273>) and have become hotly disputed especially in Lagos state, which disputed NPC’s 9, 013, 354 estimate for Lagos and released its own estimate of 17.5 million. (Available at [www.sunnewsonline.com/webpges/news/national/2007/feb/06/national-06-02-2007-03.htm](http://www.sunnewsonline.com/webpges/news/national/2007/feb/06/national-06-02-2007-03.htm)) Retrieved on Feb. 6, 2007.

Nigeria is thus better imagined than experienced. This perhaps informed the 2005 publication of the National Intelligence Council (NIC, USA) "Mapping Out Global Futures," in which the organization covertly (some would argue overtly) predicted the possible collapse of Nigeria within the next fifteen years, if the status quo continued. The organization tacitly referred to Nigeria as "a failed state."<sup>3</sup>

Many discerning Nigerians did not require an NIC publication to seek greener pastures. In a phenomenon described as "Brain Drain," almost on a daily basis, hundreds and thousands of Nigerians "check out" of Nigeria. The situation became particularly acute in the 1990s when "under the Nigerian military we became a nation without standards, one in which men who could not have risen above the rank of staff sergeant became generals and heads of state, making us a plaything for the dogs" (Osifo-Whiskey, 2006: 3).<sup>4</sup> According to Mensah (2002:68) "(t)he continuing surge of human population in 'Black' African countries such as Nigeria throws out of kilter the intricate ecological balance that sustains life". Thus, a large number of Nigerians reside outside Nigeria. The preferred destinations include countries like USA, UK, Canada, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Australia, South Africa and even economically struggling states like Kenya, Zimbabwe, Libya and Ghana.

One of the major concerns of Nigerians at home and in the Diaspora is their perception of the country's phenomenal and alarming sheer lawlessness and near

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<sup>3</sup> Ironically, Chomsky (2006:2) refers to the U.S as a "failed state" and highlights a "failed state" as one which has an "inability or unwillingness to protect their citizens from violence and perhaps even destruction; their tendency to regard themselves as beyond the reach of domestic or international law and hence, free to carry out aggression and violence. And if they have democratic reforms, they suffer from a serious 'democratic deficit' that deprives their formal democratic institutions of real substance." Ogunnika (2006) however, believes there is a paradigm change in the analysis of the Nigerian state. He describes Nigeria as a "self-defeated state."

<sup>4</sup>See TELL, July 3, 2006.

normlessness, particularly since the 1980s. With a chequered history of coups and counter coups which brought inexperienced and totally visionless soldiers to power and the current so-called “democratic” rule that leaves very much to be desired, the legal institutions of Nigeria are now simply struggling to survive, let alone operate effectively and fairly. The Human Rights Watch (2005) in "Rest in Pieces" stated unequivocally that: “The criminal justice system in Nigeria is in a state of paralysis, effectively unable to dispense justice in a fair and speedy manner. Every aspect of the system — from law enforcement to the judiciary, through the prisons — is characterized by a combination of inefficiency, corruption and lack of resources. A characteristic feature is the shocking disregard for due process as guaranteed by the constitution”.

With that sort of criminal justice background, there is a need to investigate how Nigerian immigrants perceive the criminal justice system in Canada. From a background with laws ranging from English (Common) Law, Shari’a Law ( in at least 12 states in Northern Nigeria) and the Customary or Traditional Laws, mainly in Southern Nigeria (Reichel, 2005), what in terms of law and order do immigrant Nigerians bring into Canada?

Canada is undoubtedly a preferred destination for many migrants around the world. In “They like us! They really like Us!” *Maclean’s* reports the results of a 2006 survey of 20 nations by Angus Reid Corporation to explain “why the world loves Canada”. According to the report, when respondents were asked “would you say Canada is better or worse in terms of quality of life” compared to other developed countries? An incredible 91% of respondents stated that Canada is “better”. Also, 57% of respondents agreed that “Canada is a global leader in working for human rights and peace in the

world”.<sup>5</sup> According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2005: 8), “Canada is one of the few countries in the world with an active program for permanent migration. One out of every six Canadian residents was born outside the country”.<sup>6</sup> Weinfeld and Wilkinson (1999:73) state that “Canada has one of the highest rates of naturalization in the world.” In 2004, 235, 824 persons migrated into Canada, while for 2003, 2002, 2001 and 2000, the figures are 221,355, 229,040, 250,633 and 227, 465<sup>7</sup> respectively. Of the 610,450 persons in the city of Winnipeg, 105,750 are “foreign- born.”<sup>8</sup> This represents 17.32% of residents of Winnipeg. A further look at the data reveals that 81, 915 persons in Winnipeg are “visible minorities.”<sup>9</sup> This represents 13.42% of Winnipeg population. Within the “visible minority” population, those designated “Black” are 11, 275 or 13.76% of the “visible minority” population. When compared with the entire population of Winnipeg, “Blacks” constitute 1.84%. Nigerians are the fifth largest “Black” group in Winnipeg (Mensah, 2005: 76).

However, “(m)igration is always a daunting endeavour. Even when the receiving country is welcoming, it is necessary to deal with the hardships of the way, the loss of the old country, and the shattered dreams that are part and parcel of every migratory process” (Ben-David and Ben-Ari: 1997:512). “Migration makes host societies more culturally and socially diverse. It can bring new talent and energy, expand the creative horizons of

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<sup>5</sup> The results of this research must be analyzed and utilized with caution because of *Maclean's* often flawed methodology (recall the controversial 2006 ranking of universities by *Maclean's*). For instance, only 125 people were surveyed in Lebanon and their views were supposed to represent the perceptions of 3.8 million people in what was thought to be a global research.

<sup>6</sup> See: Government of Canada (2005) *You asked about immigration and citizenship*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* pg. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Statistics Canada (2002) 2001 Community profiles. Released June 27, 2002. Last modified: 2005-11-30. Available at <http://www.12.statcan.ca/english/profil101/CPo1/Index.cfm?Lang=E> (accessed Dec. 7, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Statistics Canada uses this term to refer to people as diverse as Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino/a, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, etc. I have kept the term in quotation because no one is invisible.

all members, and enhance the domestic labour pool. But migration can also be a source of tension and anxiety” (Penninx, 2006:54). Besides being at a disadvantage when applying for entry (Ighodaro, 2006:53) people of African descent in general face a gargantuan problem. “There are certain people who, by virtue of their physical appearance, behaviour, or life circumstance, feel consistently different” (Ben-David and Ben-Ari: 1997:510). According to Ben-David and Ben-Ari (1997: 514), “(e)xtreme similarity and extreme uniqueness are aversive. People don’t like to feel that they are very different from the norm nor that they are just like everybody else. People fluctuate between these extremes and try to find a comfortable midpoint”.

Canada’s history is replete with the ill-treatment of immigrants or foreigners in all spheres. According to Fitzgerald (1997: 55), different stereotypes are held for different groups. Immigrants fare badly particularly in the socio-economic sphere (Li, 1988: 99) where devaluation of foreign credentials takes place (Basran and Zong, 1998:16); hence, they often earn less than the dominant group in Canada, (Li, 1998:115; Buzdugan, 2006). The near-annihilation of the First Nations or Aboriginal Peoples is well documented (Silverman and Nielsen, 1992); discrimination against Jews, Ukrainians, Irish, (Weinfeld and Wilkinson, 1999: 56) Italians, Poles, Germans and so on (Boyko, 1998; Henry and Tator, 2002:10) are also well known.

However, people of African descent face a very unusual problem by virtue of their skin colour which marks them out. They are consistently “(l)iving the experience,” (Ighodaro, 2006:1) of being “Black” in a predominantly “White” society. Being “Black” in North America as well as Europe is an experience on its own. A “Black” person is constantly “under the gaze (and) must learn to be black in white society” (Kelly, 1998:1).

Part of this process is that a “Black” person is an unwitting subject of unsolicited ethnography. In “There is no alibi for being black,” Ibrahim (2003:83) argues that “(t)o fall under the gaze is to find oneself within *discourses of closure* where the Black body is already authored, read, and constantly stabilized across time, language, culture and space” (emphasis in original). Ibrahim (2003:83) bemoaned how he “moved from being a ‘tall,’ ‘Sudanese’... ‘Basketball player’... to simply being ‘Black’.” Ibrahim (2006:97) argues that “the black body speaks a language that is not fully mine nor under my control...There is no alibi for being black.”

Indeed, most studies supposedly on people of African descent are based on the concept “Black.” However, the concept, “Black” is analytically useful, but praxiologically useless. Nonetheless, “who can deny that skin colour overrides most attributes of Blacks’ humanity and individuality in Canadian society?” (Mensah, 2002:21). Whatever its origins, the concept “Black” poorly wraps up as one people as divergent as African-Americans and Somalis and several other virtually technically unrelated groups based solely on melanin.

This study will deviate from what has become the norm in social-scientific research by identifying a specific group of “Blacks,” immigrant Nigerians. Nigerians became defined as “Black” upon arrival in Canada. In Nigeria, they were Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, Ibibio, Efik, Fulani, Anang and so on. The ethnic identity was paramount. Nigerians also define themselves on the basis of religion — Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religions being the most dominant ones in no definite order. “Unlike the United States, very little research has investigated perceptions of injustice in Canada...research has yet to uncover how Canadians perceive the relative treatment of

...racial minorities” (Wortley, 1996:442-3). Wortley (1996:443) attributes this lack of research into the perceptions of racial minorities in Canada to “an overall lack of concern with this topic”.

However, why bother about *perceptions*<sup>10</sup> of the justice system rather than focusing on the *actual* treatment of minorities? “Although perceptions may not perfectly depict the issues being presented, they are neither formed nor sustained in a vacuum” (Chow 1996:477-8). Perceptions are created and nurtured by one’s, or other people’s experiences, and a socio-psychological reading of events around a person’s world. Furthermore, people do not necessarily have to experience a thing to have a perception of it. Consequently, Brillon (1985:121-122) argues that “(a) negative image of the penal agencies, and a lack of confidence in the police, judiciary and the correctional institutions can prompt certain social groups to set up, if not their own system of justice, at least their own method of control. This is far from being a guarantee of better justice and a greater respect for people’s rights and liberties”. Kaukinen and Colavecchia (1999:366) called for exploration of “public perceptions of the criminal justice system in ways that are both general and specific”. My study attempts to do the latter. Clearly, there is interdependency between the general public and the criminal justice system. Reiterating Hagan and Albonetti’s (1982:332) assertion, Henderson, Cullen, Cao, Browning and Kopache (1997:448) argued that “perceived and actual discrimination in the administration of justice are distinct phenomena that deserve study in their own right.”

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<sup>10</sup> It is didactic that “Perception” is the second stage of George Herbert Mead’s four stages of the “Act” germane in understanding human action according to Charon (1992: 126). Others are “Impulse,” “Manipulation” and “Consummation.”

## 1.1 Research Objectives<sup>11</sup>

This study aims to: (1) determine the perceptions about the criminal justice system on the part of a sample of immigrant Nigerians in Winnipeg; (2.) analyze these perceptions in relation to social and demographic variables including age, education, occupation and gender; (3.) determine and identify respondent involvement in the various sectors of the criminal justice system and to evaluate the impact of involvement on their attitudes and perceptions; (4.) identify the perceptions and experiences of immigrant Nigerians with the Nigerian criminal justice system and how these influence their perceptions about the Canadian criminal justice system; (5.) investigate mechanisms of dispute resolution among a sample of immigrant Nigerians in Winnipeg to determine if there are non-state forms of ordering involved; and (6) examine identity formation and belonging modes among respondents who are self-declared Canadian permanent residents or citizens.

## 1.2 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues are moral issues. In undertaking a study, a researcher must identify ahead of time certain areas where there might be a conflict of interest in order not to compromise their objectivity. This research poses a number of ethical issues. The major one is neutrality, since as both a Nigerian and a “Black;” it is tempting to take sides. I realize, of course, that I am a continental African, born and raised in the world’s most maligned continent. My approach to this study is shaped by my past and present experiences. As Ibrahim (2006:83) stated, along with my would-be research participants, I am also “Black.” All of my other identities back in Nigeria, South of the Sahara have been completely shrouded and submerged by the master status “Black.” No longer am I a

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<sup>11</sup> 1-3 and 5-6 are adapted from Nova Scotia (1989: 2)



Nigerian, Yoruba<sup>12</sup>, soccer and ping-pong player, chorister, graduate student, son, brother, cousin, nephew, teacher, writer, “young” uncle, *Arole*<sup>13</sup> and so forth (various aspects of my identity in Nigeria) I am nothing else, but “Black” in Canada. Since I am “Living the Experience” (Ighodaro, 2006:1) of “Blackness” with my research participants, being unduly sentimental is a pitfall I must avoid.

Ethics board approval is necessary for this study because it involves human subjects. Also, there is the need to ensure that the anonymity of respondents is guaranteed and that information supplied is treated with utmost confidentiality. As much as possible, I must not simply co-opt friends and other acquaintances into this study as a member of the study population. Data analysis must also be devoid of my personal sentiments or prejudice in order not to make a mockery of the essence of social-scientific research. The onus also falls on me to accurately reflect the opinions of my respondents in my conclusions and recommendations rather than my own pre-conceived thoughts on what my findings might be.

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<sup>12</sup> One of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria.

<sup>13</sup> Yoruba word for first son or heir. This is a very crucial albeit ascribed status in Nigeria.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.0 Minorities and Perceptions of (In)Justice

Studies conducted in the US have produced eye-opening results. The race and crime literature in America is very extensive. Many Americans have always feared the growing number of immigrants (Zeidel, 2004:3) even though theirs is a population with a considerable number of minorities, especially, “Blacks” who have nowhere else to call home as an aftermath of slavery.

In “Race, Class, and the Perception of Criminal Injustice in America,” Hagan and Albonetti (1982:330-333) attempted to explain why “criminal justice is *variable*” (Italics in original) and “to measure perceptions of, and experiences with, local, state, and federal courts, as well as more general attitudes toward the administration of justice and legal actors”. Hagan and Albonetti (1982) argued that “conceptions and perceptions of justice are determined in large part by the time, places, and positions in the social structure from which they are derived”. Hagan and Albonetti (1982:332) wondered why in spite of the fact that “no widespread false consensus” exists about how “various publics... perceive the operations of our criminal justice system... (yet) the irony is that no one has analyzed public *perceptions* of criminal injustice”.<sup>14</sup> Based on a national survey with a ten-item “perceived criminal injustice scale,” which includes items like “law enforcement officials who do not represent a cross-section of the community in which they work, juries that do not represent a cross section of the people in the community, juries that are biased and unfair in when it comes to deciding cases, courts that are influenced by political consideration,” inter alia, Hagan and Albonetti (1982:343) stated that the “salient

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<sup>14</sup> My search through the literature did not yield any prior work on perceptions of criminal injustice. Hagan and Albonetti’s (1982:329-355) work is cited very copiously by scholars studying this area as the pioneers.

finding...is clearly the persistent and often striking influence of race on the perception of criminal injustice.” The study showed that “black Americans are considerably more likely than white Americans to perceive criminal injustice;” and that “black members of the Professional and Managerial Class (PMC) are the most likely persons in the sample to perceive criminal injustice” (351). Explaining the latter finding, Hagan and Albonetti (1982:352) argued that there is a “possibility that black members of the PMC who perceive income discrimination may be sensitive to the perception of injustice elsewhere as well.” The importance of class was found to be less than that of race in the study.

Jefferson and Walker (1993:254) examined attitudes of minorities to the police and tried to objectively measure “perception” of respondents about police. Included in this was “the extent to which people thought the police took part in various forms of misconduct, such as using threats or unnecessary violence or not taking accurate records.” Jefferson and Walker (1993:252) interviewed boys aged 10-15 after administering questionnaires “because they were most likely to have had contact with the police and experience of crime”. The results showed that 66% of “Blacks” felt that “there are quite a lot of dishonest policemen” compared to 40% of Asians and 45% of “Whites”. Also, 57% of “Blacks” believed it was best to avoid the police wherever possible, while 37% of Asians and 40% of “Whites” would rather avoid the police. In addition, 58% of “Blacks” felt the police made up evidence, while the figures for Asians and “Whites” are 21% and 47% respectively. Also, 70% of “Blacks” perceived that the police treated some groups unfairly, while 38% of Asians and 65% of “Whites” shared this perception. In general, Jefferson and Walker’s (1993) shows that “Blacks” are more likely to have a negative perception of the police than other ethnic groups.

“The literature concerning police and citizen interactions further indicates that citizens’ perceptions of the local police may be based on personal interactions with the police” (Parker, Onyekwuluje and Murty, 1995:399) or “it may represent a value judgement based on what citizens believe the police ought to be doing” (McDowell, 1984:266; cited in Parker, et al. 1995:399). Thus, Parker, et al. (1995:399) sought to know “(w)hat factors, circumstances conditions or events give rise to citizens’ expected and perceived behaviours of the local police and, at the same time, the local police’s anticipated reactions from the public?” Parker, et al.’s (1995:405) study of 585 African-Americans found that “citizens’ attitude toward the local police were negative and influenced by different factors.” They claimed that their findings were consistent with previous research which showed that “Blacks were more likely than Whites to report that the police searched them without reason, used insulting language, and roughed them up unnecessarily” but discovered that demographic variables such as marital status, age, residence, income, and sex were not significant factors in determining attitudes to the police.

Shedd and Hagan (2006:313) argued that perception of criminal injustice is common among disadvantaged racial and ethnic minorities. However, they believed that “there is much about these perceptions that remains unknown.” Shedd and Hagan (2006: 324-25) argued that African-American parents often urged their children to be “respectful” when confronted by the police “for fear that their children (and particularly their sons) might be beaten or shot if they displayed any disrespect.” Shedd and Hagan (2006: 325) cited Walker, Spohn and DeLone (2000: 90- 91) to buttress the fact that “African Americans have much less favorable attitudes toward the police than other groups.” “(V)iews on the

criminal justice system are rather rigid and resistant to change” (Bobo and Johnson, 2004:155; Cited in Shedd and Hagan, 2006:316). Shedd and Hagan (2006: 322) further stated that where there is greater “integrated institutional experiences”, minorities are in a state of “intensified alert for differential treatment”. Shedd and Hagan’s (2006: 323) study showed that “arrests of African Americans were greater than for other racial groups”.

Hagan, Shedd and Payne (2005:381) examined “Race, Ethnicity, and Youth Perceptions of Criminal Justice” among 18, 251 Chicago public school students. The results indicated that all racial categories of youths — White, Latino and Black — were sensitive “to elevated levels of police contact” (Hagan et al. 2005:399). The results also showed that “the perceptions of criminal injustice among both African and Latino American youth are at first intensified and then modestly improved by the increasing proportionate representation of white students in their schools” (400).

There is also evidence that immigrants experience fear of crime. Ackah (2000: 554) investigated the fear of crime among Ghanaian immigrants in Washington D.C (rather than examining “Blacks” as a whole) by measuring respondents’ prior knowledge of crime, perception of neighbourhood relative level of dangerousness, length of stay in the U.S. , participation in social activities and work schedule and demographic variables. According to Acker (2000: 570), “the majority of the Ghanaian immigrants...experience fear of crime...A perplexing finding that emerged was that a prolonged stay in the United States did not reduce an immigrant’s fear of crime or fear of strangers”. Explaining his finding, Acker (2000: 570) argued that “the immigrant is affected by the media sensationalization of crime news and its related vicarious victimization”.

## 2.1 The Canadian Experience

Ontario remains the site of the few studies that have been conducted in Canada on this crucial issue. Henry, Hastings and Freer's (1996:469-476) work "Perceptions of race and crime in Ontario: Empirical evidence from Toronto and Durham region" remains central. Henry et al. (1996:469) argue that "(a)lthough there is no direct empirical evidence from Canada to show that blacks commit more crimes than members of other racial groups, the belief is reinforced by the alleged over-policing of the black community particularly with respect to drugs and the drug culture". Citing Ontario (1995) and Equal Opportunity Consultants (1989), Henry et al. (1996:470) state that "there is a strong perception, particularly within the black communities that they are disproportionately charged with drug offenses". Henry et al. (1996:470) also argue that the "(r)acialization of crime' is also increasingly directed at one particular group of blacks, notably people from Jamaica".<sup>15</sup> Jamaican youths too had always been distrustful of the Canadian criminal justice system. Henry, Tator, Mattis and Rees (2000:150) report that at the 1990 Jamaican Canadian Association conference, the "youth stated unequivocally that they felt alienated from the systems that administer justice in Ontario...because of a prevailing stereotype that Black youths are believed to be criminals." Tator and Henry (2006: 44) argue that "(t)he law itself is racialized." They believe that racialization of the law is inevitable because the law was written prior to the time that disadvantaged peoples or minorities were allowed to participate in the justice system. Tator and Henry (2006: 92-106) believe that dominant attributes of police culture such as social isolation, solidarity and militarism foster racism. They argue that despite years of numerous task force reports and

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<sup>15</sup> My search through the Canadian literature reveals that this is the first instance where a specific group of "Blacks" is mentioned rather the ambiguous concept "Black".

recommendations made to the Toronto Police Service, there has been no marked improvement in the police culture (Tator and Henry, 109-112).

The murder committed by Clinton Gayle further worsened matters, and his consequent conviction was used to solidify the “public’s conviction that blacks, particularly Jamaicans, do in fact commit more crimes” (Henry et al. 1996:470). They cite a survey of Toronto residents by Angus Reid in March 1995. About 45% of respondents believe there is a link between an individual’s racial background and their likelihood of criminality. An estimated 46% of respondents believe that Jamaicans, Trinidadians among others were culpable, while “19% think that “blacks in general” are responsible and 18% mention Asians or Vietnamese” (Henry et al. 1996:471). What is most staggering is that “65% of the respondents (45% of the total sample of respondents) thought that black people committed more crimes than other groups”. Using similar research instruments as Angus Reid, Henry et al. (1996:472) found in their own research that 37% of respondents thought there was a link between race and crime and “of these, nearly two-thirds (61%) believed that the groups most responsible were Jamaicans, other West Indians or blacks.” As in the Angus Reid study, a large number of respondents in Henry et al. study felt that “the culture, customs, or background of blacks was responsible for their criminality”.

Wortley (1996:439-467)<sup>16</sup> examined “racial differences in the perception of criminal injustice” using telephone interviews. Wortley (1996: 446-7) found that 76% of “Blacks” believed that the police treated “Black” people differently than “Whites”, while 60%

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<sup>16</sup> His starting point on this study was the Stephen Lewis Inquiry of 1992; an attendant effect of the crisis between minorities and police in Toronto, especially in May of the same year. “It was clear that many of the individuals and groups who participated in the investigation felt strongly that the criminal justice system discriminated against racial minorities,” according to Wortley (1996:441).